[62 cont.]

825 whole period of pregnancy. The duality of childbirth-serpent
843 is brought to our notice with an insistence and disconcerting realism which we will endeavor to explain.

If we look into the Guajiro family organization we can
596 see how that community taken as a homogeneous whole is
621 divided into series of extended family groups which follow the line of maternal filiation. Belonging to a family group are the mother, the sons and daughters of the mother, the sons and daughters of the mother's daughters, and so on successively. The administration of the family is not in the hands of the father, who is not considered as such, but in those of the maternal uncles, the eldest of these being predominant. Inheritance also
428 is determined by this system, and sons inherit nothing from their natural father, but from their mother or their maternal uncles. The property of the father is split up among his nephews, sons of his sister, whom he considers as sons. Patrilocality and
591 matrilocality exist, the former predominating. The family group, wrongly named by some authors casta is very much
614 extended, and to it belong all those bearing the same surname. Each large family group has its own property mark or brand and a representative animal. Thus, for example: [63]

Family groups	Representative animals
Uriána (41)	jaguar

[104]

41. For the convenience of our readers we have adapted the phonetics of all these Guajiro names to Spanish orthography, using the most apparent sounds.

Uráriyú	rattlesnake
Uriyú	snake
Wo'riyú	partridge
Uyúrayú	cauquero (a species of deer)
Ipwana	cari-cari
Sípwana	bittern

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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been completely tamed by the Venezuelans. He, with of course his followers, have found honesty the best policy after all, and are now reformed and peaceful members of society, returned to breeding and agriculture. This shows what can be done with firmness combined with a little judicious tact and management.

The Indians build no elaborate dwelling-houses. Their best ranchos are simple, and constructed in a short time. The roof is covered with the split woody core of a tall euphorbia. This makes a good cool roof, impermeable to water and easily removed when the family flits. The rancho is seldom used for sleeping purposes; for this numerous poles (*tchepsi*) are firmly fixed all over the place for swinging hammocks, often three and four to one pole, and crossing each other. Sometimes two and three sleep in a hammock. Further off other poles (*palámaler*) are found, to tie animals up at, and a small corral or sheep-pen for the goats and sheep is also indispensable in every well-regulated family. The site of a rancho is always carefully chosen, much strategy being displayed in locating the whole, so that each rancho covers the other without itself being seen. Although villages are never attempted, yet a family rarely lives isolated. Everybody bolsters himself with that bugbear of Goajira society, his relations. Their ranchos are always within gunshot distance, so as mutually to defend each other. One is invariably on high ground to dominate the country, the rest are hidden away in nooks and corners where least expected. If one rancho is seen, others are close at hand. In case of attack, this system prevents a whole family being exterminated. One or two ranchos may be taken, but the rest escape or fly to the rescue, as the case may be. At all events the avenger, so dear to the Indian, survives. Each rancho has a distinct name. Besides, every Indian who is anybody has several ranchos spread over the country. To collect the names of the ranchos would be paramount to taking a census of the territory. The following are well-known ranchos, with usually some half-caste from Riohacha trading with the Indians. In the Macuira range, six miles from Punta Espada, is Guarorpá, at the foot of Ara-ura; chief, Caijuna, a Jirnu. Westwards, close to the sea-shore, Chómunno; chief, José Agustin, a Jallariú, a half-caste speaking good Spanish. At the foot of Itujoro, Maguaipá, situated on a slight eminence eight miles from the sea, and is an important trading station. Paraliero, native name of Puerto Estrella, boasts twelve houses and three iron warehouses, with always two or three Riohacheros resident there. The chief, Pedro Quinto, is Epioyn, but his sister Mauricia is the virtual ruler. Inland, 16 miles from Bahia Honda or Taroa is Merunay, another large trading station, usually with two or three Riohacheros established there. The eight ranchos are well located on a plain between Macuira and Parashi. The chief, Saipa, is Epioyn. This is one of the most central stations in the Goajira, and is surrounded by several important places; it is probably

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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the site of the old Spanish settlement San Juan de Ipapa. On the west side of the Parashi Hills in the plains is another well-known central trading station Joroy; chief, Majutó, an Ipuana; probably near the old site of the Spanish settlement Moscota. In the neighbourhood are: Guarirpanturi; chief, Concón, an Ipuana. A Dutchman from Aruba has lived here many years, and has become quite an Indian. Aipiapá, a few ranchos on an eminence commanding the whole valley. The Indians here are rather mixed, but the chief is a Pushaina. The well Kapaulora, at the base of the hill, is the finest I saw, and surrounded with rich green vegetation similar to that of Macuira. Katunasió, the most inland station. It is generally the traders that make a rancho known, for the Indians do everything they can to keep their abodes, if not secret, at any rate as much in the dark as possible. The plains being more unsettled than the mountain district, traders do not venture to establish themselves in the interior, as at Morunay or Joroy, so few ranchos are known. The most important place in the Lower Goajira is Guinoua, midway between Riohacha and the Venezuelan town of Las Guardias or Santa Teresa. Paraguaipoa, the new Venezuelan military colony, founded in 1882, counts already 50 houses. It is situated in the plains 12 miles in advance of Santa Teresa, which it completely covers. The garrison at present consists of 30 men, well mounted and found in every respect, under the orders of a commander, two secretaries, and two interpreters; the latter for the purpose of taking statistics as to trade, &c. Altogether it is a model establishment, and does honour to the Government of Venezuela. The entire population of the Goajira may be about 20,000; it does not exceed 25,000, and is not increasing.

As regards manners and customs and the way they enforce their old peculiar laws, these Goajiros are particularly interesting. Of course, like all Indians, they are singularly proficient in begging, stealing, and drinking, but besides these capital vices they add a fourth, that is demanding compensation, tear- or blood-money—principal cause of all the strife and blood feuds between the castes, and an everlasting danger to Indians and strangers alike. Whereas about one-quarter of the male population die a violent death from its result, another quarter are killed by drink and its effects. The laws that govern these compensation cases are very intricate, their number is legion. First is the terrible law of retribution, that makes a whole caste responsible for the acts of any single member. As the Spaniards or white men are considered by the Indians as belonging to one large family, the country is very unsafe for travelling, for every white man is a sort of hostage for the good behaviour of the others. If an Indian should be killed in a quarrel by a white man, the life of another white man, living leagues away, depends upon whether the foe (relations of the dead Indian) or a friend brings the news first. Many an innocent unconscious trader has been sacrificed at one end of the peninsula for a foul murder committed at the other end.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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Urianas are connected by marriage with the Pushaina, another wealthy "tribe" of the *Goajiro*.

Each extended village (section or rancheria) consists of related sib members who are bound by close ties and who unite against outsiders if one of them is wronged. Intermarriage among the sibs is common.

The role of the maternal uncle in *Goajiro* culture is of great importance. Santa Cruz's detailed study of it (1941) will be summarized here. Types of behavior, both prescribed and unformalized, vary, not only according to the seniority of either uncle or nephew but also according to that of the nieces. The maternal uncle must leave all his property to his oldest sister's oldest son, the other nephews receiving nothing. In practice the maternal uncle transfers most of his property to his own children, and after his death little if anything remains for the nephew. The attitude of a senior nephew toward his senior maternal uncle largely depends on what inheritance he expects from him. If the nephew marries a girl from a wealthy family and has, therefore, to pay a high bride price, the senior maternal uncle is expected to make a donation to meet the price. The uncle has no authority, however, in the selection of the bride.

Etiquette requires that in company the nephew must always remain silent if his senior maternal uncle is speaking; if the nephew wishes to speak he must first ask his uncle's permission. The nephew must always show respect and conduct himself with propriety. On the other hand, a senior uncle should not criticize or laugh at his senior nephew. No such behavior is prescribed between father and son or between other uncles and nephews. Public opinion castigates any deviation from this behavior between uncle and nephew.

The relationship between a maternal uncle and his niece is just the reverse of this, for the uncle is the recipient of benefits. He receives the bride price paid for the niece, and he contributes nothing toward the dowry for the bridegroom. The maternal uncle, however, is empowered to accept or reject a prospective bridegroom, and the girl has no recourse in the matter. A girl is respectful and considerate, although less rigidly formal, toward her senior maternal uncle. Her behavior toward her other uncles depends solely on her regard for them.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

There is no central government uniting all the sibs, but each sib or subdivision thereof has its chiefs who inherit their position matrilineally. The oldest chief has greatest authority and may carry a knobbed stick as symbol of his authority. He is generally the wealthiest and has most retainers. Hereditary status is very important, and a man born poor may never achieve a high position, even though he acquires much wealth. He may, however, marry a woman of high rank and his children will inherit her rank. Chiefs are polygynous and have many daughters, for